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Content

Editor's Preface	127
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SPECIAL SECTION

<i>Sang Hoon Bae, Ludwig Stecher</i> Extended Education and Social Inequality: An Introduction	129
--	-----

<i>Sergey Kosaretsky, Ivan Ivanov</i> Inequality in Extracurricular Education in Russia	132
--	-----

<i>Steve R. Entrich, Wolfgang Lauterbach</i> Shadow Education in Germany: Compensatory or Status Attainment Strategy? Findings from the German LifE Study	143
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<i>Sang Hoon Bae, Eunwon Cho, Bo-Kyung Byun</i> Stratification in Extended Education Participation and its Implications for Education Inequality	160
--	-----

GENERAL CONTRIBUTIONS

<i>Linnéa Holmberg</i> 'Bursting With Activities': Impression Management as Edu-Business in School-Age Educare	178
--	-----

Liza Haglund

The Need for Care: A Study of Teachers' Conceptions of Care and Pupils' Needs in
a Swedish School-Age Educare Setting 191

DEVELOPMENTS in the Field of Extended Education

Sabine Maschke, Verena Wellnitz

The Method of the Socio-Spatial Map for the Reconstruction of Transformative
Educational Processes in Educational Contexts 207

AUTHOR INFORMATION 216

Inequality in Extracurricular Education in Russia

Sergey Kosaretsky, Ivan Ivanov

Abstract: The article considers the structure of the inequality of access to extra-curricular education in Russia and factors influencing it. Among the main barriers are the territorial context, urban and rural education, the families' socioeconomic status and cultural capital. It is also showed that the factors of the inequality are also produced with strong spatial (interregional, inter-municipal) differentiation; the sector's peculiarities of regulation and policy. Despite active measures of the state policy in increasing participation coverage of in extracurricular education and activities, the questions of social differentiation's risks remain not solved. Tools for identifying risk categories have not been developed.

Keywords: extracurricular education in Russia, extracurricular activities, inequality in extracurricular education

Introduction

In Russia, in recent years, the growing inequality of educational opportunities is increasingly felt. This problem is not only a question of morality and justice, but also largely a question of the country's economic well-being. Ensuring equal access to education for all children, regardless of the social, economic and cultural level of their families, is one of the key challenges of modern education.

Since the second half of the 20th century, researchers have focused on the causes of significant achievement gaps between different groups of students within the same school, which are due to differences in the social background of students (Coleman et al., 1966).

Extracurricular activities (ECA) for children is usually considered in the context of inequality. Children for low-income families are more likely participate in school-based extracurricular activities. Their peers from middle-income families are more involved in the system outside of school, their choice is not due to a territorial factor (Bennett, Lutz, & Jayaram, 2012). Along with the family's financial situation and the community's social context, there is another focus on the parents' level of education (Ashbourne & Andres, 2015). The higher it is, the child involvement is higher (while the level of education of the mother is more significant from the point of view of child development) (Bartko & Eccles,

2003; Fredricks & Eccles, 2006; Lareau & Weininger, 2008; Randall & Bohnert, 2009). The ECA potential in overcoming social inequality is considered in the context of its effects on academic performance, school involvement, and school dropout (Eccles, Templeton, 2002), schoolchildren socialization (Eccles & Roeser, 2011), development of social skills (Larson, Hansen, & Walker, 2005; Mahoney & Stattin, 2000; Bohnert, Fredricks, & Randall, 2010; Gilman, Meyers, & Perez, 2004; Hansen, Larson, & Dworkin, 2003).

The transformation of the sector of extracurricular education (ECE), its relation to socio-economic characteristics of inequality are poorly studied and understood. Meanwhile, these studies have a bilateral value and importance because they allow us to see the important part of inequality and through this focus to better understand the transition processes in post-Soviet countries in the context of children's education and development (Chankseliani, 2017).

In this article, for the first time, we aim to give a comprehensive picture of Russian studies of inequality in the extracurricular education sector, covering the entire structure of providers and directions. We also attempt to systematize data at the national level in order to present the current state of inequality and to generalize conclusions and hypotheses about the conditions and factors of inequality in the extracurricular education sector.

We should mention that "extracurricular" means the topics that are out of school curricular and are not obligatory according to the state educational standards. So extracurricular activities include different content that cannot be taught during the school hours. When we speak about inequality, we mean the inequality of access to services and the coverage (type of the activities: school based and out-of-school; content of the activities and programs: sports, arts, music and etc.) the target groups' involvement. In this article, we will look at the features of inequality at the inter-regional level, within regions depending on the settlement's type, between groups of children depending on the family background - level of education, income, cultural capital.

The article's topic is rather new for Soviet and post-Soviet research agenda. Russian studies of differences in ECE involvement and mechanisms of inequality reproduction are quite new and not numerous areas. The main corpus of Soviet and post-Soviet studies covers the extracurricular education potential for development and socialization, the organization of some ECE forms and methods using pedagogical research methods (Golovanov, 2001; Rozhkov, 2007). Focus to the problem of differences in access arises only in the second decade of the 21st century, it is also conditioned with the use of sociological research methods.

The very appearance of publications testifies to the actualization of the problem both in scientific and practical terms. It is important to mention the growth of research interest confirmed by the body of researches and publications analyzed in this article.

ECA in Russia: Snapshot

One hundred years ago, the formation of extracurricular education for children (out-of-school education) as part of the state education system in the Soviet Union can be considered as one of the most interesting and (fortunately) successful social experiments of the

Shadow Education in Germany: Compensatory or Status Attainment Strategy? Findings from the German Life Study

Steve R. Enrich, Wolfgang Lauterbach

Abstract: In Germany we observe a strong increase in the enrolment in shadow education (*Nachhilfe*) over the last two decades. To explain this development we draw on social reproduction theories identifying two strategies: (1) families seek competitive advantages for their children to maintain or achieve an advantageous education level (status attainment strategy); and (2) families seek performance improvement for their low performing children in order to meet the high demands in the pursuit of the highest school diploma (compensatory strategy). To test our theoretical ideas, we estimate regression models using data from the 2012 German Life study. We find that shadow education is primarily used by disadvantaged educational strata to deal with higher demands in school. We conclude that the increased investment in *Nachhilfe* is an unintended but not yet negative outcome of educational expansion and recent educational reforms in Germany.

Keywords: shadow education, private tutoring, *Nachhilfe*, social inequality, Germany

Introduction

Shadow education is well established in East Asian countries and did also expand in many Western countries over the last 20 years (Park, Buchmann, Choi, & Merry, 2016). In Germany, the proportion of 17-year olds who ever received paid *Nachhilfe*¹, has increased from 27 percent in the early 2000 years to 47 percent in the early 2010 years (Hille, Spieß, & Staneva, 2016, p. 116). The market is dominated by 4.500 *Nachhilfe* schools, of which most were founded since 1992 (Birkelbach, Dobischat, & Dobischat, 2017, pp. 59-62). International research highlights three characteristics of shadow education: It is *academic*, therefore excluding all non-academic forms of out-of-school education; it is used as a *supplement* and therefore taking place outside regular school hours; and it is *private*, profit-oriented and therefore fee based (Bray, 2017). Consequently, past international and German research is dominated by the view that shadow education exacerbates social inequality, be-

1 *Nachhilfe* (extra-help) is a broad description for all kinds of supplementary tutoring. We focus our analysis on private, fee-based, commercial *Nachhilfe*, which fits the formal definition of shadow education by Bray (2017). The terms shadow education, private tutoring and *Nachhilfe* are used synonymously.

cause parents with higher socioeconomic status (SES) seem to be in a better position to reap the benefits of private tutoring (Dohmen, 2012; Heyneman, 2011; Hille et al., 2016; Park et al., 2016). Several empirical studies confirmed that high SES students more frequently enrol in private tutoring and use the more cost-intensive lessons leading to higher performance and better educational placement, i.e. entrance to more prestigious schools and universities (e.g. Buchmann, Condron, & Roscigno, 2010; Entrich, 2018; Stevenson & Baker, 1992). Only few studies exist indicating that shadow education is used independent of parental SES and may even reduce social inequality by compensating performance deficits of low SES students (e.g. Entrich, 2018; Luplow & Schneider, 2014; Seiyama & Noguchi, 1984).

Whether *Nachhilfe* reduces the SES achievement gap and therefore social inequality is still “empirically open to research” (Stecher, 2018, p. 144). Against this background, we ask two questions:

1. Why has the demand for shadow education in Germany increased that much?
2. What are the implications of the increased investments in shadow education on social inequality?

We address both questions by outlining two educational developments which affect the demand for *Nachhilfe*: The reform of the German tripartite secondary school system and families’ massive pursuit of higher educational attainment. We draw on *social reproduction theories* to show that shadow education can be both, an instrument to counteract all students’ low academic performance and a status-specific investment strategy of families serving status maintenance and upgrade motives.

We predict the determinants of shadow education investment through logistic regressions using the 2012 *Pathways from Late Childhood to Adulthood* (LifE) study for Germany (Lauterbach, Fend, & Gläßer, 2016). The LifE study questioned parents and students on all key aspects necessary for this analysis. This allows a reliable analysis of SES-specific *Nachhilfe* investment in Germany.

Theoretical Frame

Institutional Context and Increase in Shadow Education

The German educational system has long been criticized for reproducing social inequality through early separation of students into three secondary school types of different length and curriculum: *Hauptschule*, *Realschule* and *Gymnasium*. The *Gymnasium* leads to the *Abitur* (12 or 13 years), the highest secondary school degree, which provides students with the opportunity to enter university. The curricula of the *Real*- and *Hauptschule* are less demanding, leading to lower secondary school degrees after 10 or 9 years of schooling, respectively. Both enable graduates to enter the dual vocational training system (Weiss & Schindler, 2017).

Following the 2002 PISA-shock in Germany, reforms were initiated to increase equality of educational opportunities (Ertl, 2006). The traditional tripartite school system was replaced in 12 out of 16 states by a bipartite school system. *Hauptschule* and *Realschule* were combined to create a comprehensive secondary school type parallel to the *Gymnasium*. From 2005

Stratification in Extended Education Participation and its Implications for Education Inequality

Sang Hoon Bae, Eunwon Cho, Bo-Kyung Byun

Abstract: This study identified subgroups of elementary students based on similar patterns of participation in four different types of extended education in Korea. The study also investigated relationships between student patterns of extended education participation and their various demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, including residential location, parental education, and family income level. To achieve these aims, the study used latent profile analysis and logistic regression on a dataset of 18,186 students from 786 elementary schools provided by Statistics Korea. Results reveal five distinctive subgroups of students in terms of extended education participation: afterschool academic program users, shadow education users, moderate afterschool academic program users, ordinary users, and talent development seekers. Results also show that student socioeconomic and demographic characteristics are strongly associated with their classification into the above-mentioned subgroups. These findings signal the possibility that “educational stratification” based on student socioeconomic background may be occurring in the area of extended education.

Keywords: extended education, participation, stratification, educational equality

Introduction

Korea is well known for its people’s “education fever” (Seth, 2002): parents are willing to make great sacrifices to ensure their children’s success in education and life. Over the past five decades, this culture has intensified with the strong public belief that education is one of the most effective investments for individual “upward mobility” from one social level to another, and contributes to the reproduction of family socioeconomic status.

In reality, parents’ desire for their children’s education leads to incessant efforts to provide increased access to better education opportunities for their children. Given the greatly equalized and standardized regular curricular activities under the strictly mandated national curriculum framework, Korean parents seek alternative routes to differentiate educational opportunities and experiences of their children from those of their peers through “out-of-school time.” This is demonstrated by the ever-increasing participation rate in private supplementary tutoring, also known as “shadow education” (Bray, 1999). Most parents believe that attending “*hakwon* (for-profit private tutoring institutions)” will help their children prepare for tests and therefore achieve higher scores, paving the way for their children’s

admission to prestigious universities. Regardless of whether such private tutoring indeed enhances student learning, private supplementary tutoring is a dominant culture in Korean education. Furthermore, private tutoring is becoming increasingly normative and institutionalized in other East Asian countries, as well (Bae & Jeon, 2013; Bae & Kanefuji, 2018; Bray, 2013). From a public policy perspective, however, one serious problem concerning the widespread and increasing shadow education is that the accessibility and affordability of private tutoring services considerably differ across students from different socioeconomic classes and regions. Because the financial costs of private tutoring are relatively high, only students from wealthier families can afford to take part in such educational opportunities. Due to the lack of private tutors, students in rural areas have much more limited access to private tutoring compared to their peers in urban areas. In this regard, the ever-increasing participation in private tutoring is considered as a factor exacerbating educational equality in Korea.

A countermeasure to such problems has been presented in the form of school-based afterschool programs, defined as “a set of student-centered learning and development activities which are school-based operations but a not a part of the regular curriculum” (Ministry of Education and Science and Technology, 2012). These programs are generally run by school teachers or education professionals hired by schools, and are mostly implemented within school premises after regular school hours. More importantly, these afterschool programs are much more affordable than profit-seeking private tutoring services. Accordingly, school-based afterschool programs have become an alternative educational arrangement for students from lower income families and rural areas who have limited access to expensive private tutoring. In other words, school-based afterschool programs can be viewed as an education policy that promotes education equality in Korea.

As explained above, private supplementary tutoring and afterschool programs are the two main pillars of extended education in Korea. These two types of programs and activities are implemented with a variety of purposes. Private supplementary tutoring is provided by for-profit education services that are designed to increase students’ test performance. With the ever-intensifying competition among students, the private tutoring market in academic subjects has been continuously growing. The cost of private tutoring varies based on its performance in raising scores and/or sending students to prestigious universities. Meanwhile, afterschool programs for academic subjects are relatively cheaper and usually provided for students who cannot afford expensive private tutoring, as well as those who are left behind.

With the growing perception regarding the importance of extended education participation in students’ growth and development, an increasing number of talent development programs and activities are also provided after school hours at a variety of places. Some programs are offered by profit-seeking vendors, while others are provided as one of the school-based afterschool programs. Costs differ based on the quality of programs and activities.

With various extended education programs, Korean students are able to choose which programs to attend after school. While there has been little research to directly compare the quality of provided programs, anecdotal evidence and market rules suggest that the costs of programs are directly proportional to their quality. It is also assumed that socioeconomic status—for instance, family income level and residential location of students—greatly in-

'Bursting With Activities': Impression Management as Edu-Business in School-Age Educare

Linnéa Holmberg

Abstract: Starting from an understanding of contemporary society as occupied with a dominant trend in image-boosting, the study explores how school-age educare centers engage in edu-business when promoting themselves through self-presentations on their websites. Using a qualitative method with an analytical attention directed towards unexpected angles, these self-presentations are problematized in terms of discursive impression management and with a focus on how messages are communicated by using different discursive resources to make the presentations trustworthy and selling. The edu-business logic found on the websites is not primarily about competition between different school-age educare centers, but is instead about competition between compulsory school and school-age educare, as well as the choice to participate or not in the education offered in the school-age educare centers.

Keywords: websites, School-Age Educare, Edu-Business, Image-Boosting Business

Edu-Business the Swedish Way

Sweden has, through a political willingness to stage market-liberal ideas, quickly changed from a state-run, micromanaged and uniform education system to a deregulated and liberal ditto building on a free school choice with a voucher system (Holm, 2013; Hudson, 2011). This transformation can be considered part of an international reform trend in which freedom of choice is highly valued, and where streamlining – along with increased quality for both the individual and society – is a desirable goal. It also implies that greater freedom of choice is equated with flexibility, pluralism and enhanced professionalism among teachers (for in-depth discussions see, for example, Ball & Youdell, 2009; Erixon Arreman & Holm, 2011a, 2011b; Lubienski, 2016; Lundahl, Erixon Arreman, Holm, & Lundström, 2013). This has led to massive activity in terms of visibility, measuring and comparing results and quality based on ideas concerning a customer choice model, where consumers are expected to base their choice on available information about various educational establishments. In this regard, education is considered a product that needs to be marketed for prospective customers, namely children, young people and their guardians (Rönnerberg, 2017). Today, the marketplace where offers about the products and services available to choose from is main-

ly on the Internet. Information technology thereby functions as an incorporation of a freedom of choice system that makes the public sector exposed to competition (Holm, 2013; Lubienski & Lee, 2016). Nevertheless, the system is still tax-funded and therefore currently described as a market hybrid, as public services do not operate on a completely free market. They are today a mix between political decisions and competition. Referring to this form of governing and organization, the term 'quasi-market' is commonly used. Another way of describing this approach is through the now established expression New Public Management (Lundahl, Erixon Arreman, Holm, & Lundström, 2013). Activities that increase visibility and highlight comparisons in this kind of management can be seen as edu-business (Ball, 2007; Erixon Arreman, & Holm, 2011b). Operating in this so-called quasi-market are public (municipal), as well as private, actors. During the school-year 2017-2018, there were a total of 4255 school-age educare centers (hereinafter referred to as Saec) in Sweden. 3552 of these were operated by municipalities and 689 were driven by a private actor. In total, 484 399 children were enrolled (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2019a).

In a report, the Swedish National Agency for Education (2000) states that the main problem with school-age educare is its invisibility, something that still seems to be the case today. In comparison to preschool and compulsory school, less attention is paid to school-age educare when it comes to both research and media. Nevertheless, due to recent political changes, including a reinforced regulation of school-age educare in the Swedish Education Act (SFS 2010:800) and a clarification of the educational assignment in a new separate part of the curriculum (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2019b), it seems that even the Saec need to engage in edu-business, since more and more of these are made visible on websites. With the market as a model, Saec – as well as all other forms of education – need to listen to what the customers want, and to remain competitive it becomes necessary to engage in some kind of marketing to put forward an attractive image. In the fight for a good reputation, branding becomes important (Ball, 2007; Lubienski, 2016; Oplatka, Hemsley-Brown, & Foskett, 2002).

Previous research about the contemporary phenomenon of edu-business almost exclusively involves upper secondary or post-secondary education, and only in some cases addresses compulsory school (see for example Lubienski & Lee, 2016 and Chapple, 2015). One study examines material similar to what is analyzed here, but in a preschool context (Holmberg, 2018). Thus, as no other such study focuses on school-age educare, this article will take a closer look at this particular institution.

Aim and Research Questions

This article aims to explore how competitiveness can be discursively managed in the Swedish education system. More precisely, an edu-business logic is studied as found on 350 Saec websites, where self-presentations are available. These are analyzed in terms of impression management and image-boosting business. The analytical focus is directed towards the following research questions:

1. What recurrent basic messages are communicated through the websites?
2. What discursive resources can be distinguished in the self-presentations found on the websites?

The Need for Care: A Study of Teachers' Conceptions of Care and Pupils' Needs in a Swedish School-Age Educare Setting

Liza Haglund

Abstract: This paper presents the findings of a study investigating School-Age Educare (SAE) teachers' conceptions of care and care practices and how these conceptions of care and actual practices relate to pupils' needs. The study is based on observations and interviews with two experienced SAE teachers and one young teacher in a Swedish SAE centre, working with pupils between 9–11 years old. The study was undertaken between March 2018 and April 2019, and provides insight into different forms of care and caring practices. The study also shows that pupils nowadays, according to the teachers, have needs that were previously met by their families. The teachers' conceptions of the importance of a well-functioning group and pupils' needs to be able to share their feelings, dreams and worries and to value each other's differences were also salient findings of the study.

Keywords: School-Age Educare, conceptions of care, caring practises, pupils' needs, care ethics

Introduction

School-Age Educare (SAE) in Sweden has its own chapter (4) in the national curriculum policy document for the primary school system, preschool classes and after-school centres (The National Education Act (NAE), 2011/2018). In addition to offering meaningful leisure time, SAE should also “stimulate pupils' development and learning” (p. 23). Previously, after-school centres were mainly places for care and recreation (cf. Calander, 2000). National policy (NAE, 2011/2018) now states that “The concept of an educational programme should be given a broad interpretation in school-age educare, where care, development and teaching constitute a whole” (p. 23). Care, development and teaching can thereby be interpreted as impossible to separate from each other. Policy documents provide evidence of an ideological shift from leisure and care as the main objective of SAE towards a more comprehensive view. The use of the term “teaching”, with children seen as “pupils”, signals that children are now the objects of education (Pihlgren & Rohlin, 2011). SAE is expected to contribute to the fulfilment of school objectives. Learning is described in the curriculum relating to SAE (NAE, 2011/2018) as situated, activity oriented and based on pupils' needs and interests. It means that SAE activities can serve several aims, being meaningful and fun from the perspective of pupils while at the same time enhancing subject knowledge and skills development. However, this implies a risk that SAE might reproduce the logic of tra-

ditional classrooms and overlook care- and value-based issues (Pihlgren & Rohlin, 2011; Boström, & Augustsson; 2016; Holmberg, 2017). Concern about the increased emphasis on education at the expense of care has also been reflected in worries about the risk of “schoolification” of the pre-school curriculum (Gunnarsdottir, 2014, p. 246).

On the other hand, there is an international trend towards care for children’s well-being and socialisation, embodied by programmes such as social and emotional training (SET) (Kimber, 2006). These programmes depart from a risks perspective, accounting for children that have to handle unsound peer relations, bullying, dysfunctional families, crimes and drugs, etcetera (Bartholdsson, Gustafsson-Lundberg, & Hultin, 2014). The sociologist Frank Furedi (2004) identifies this trend, promoted in schools, as anti-intellectual, as it focuses on the development of emotional intelligence. As such, according to Furedi, it forms a part of a wider predominant therapeutic culture. The main caring objective is to raise pupils’ self-esteem and help them develop self-control. Care in this sense relates to pupils’ psychological lives and relies on the idea that strong self-esteem is the foundation for learning. However, Furedi (2004) argues that despite its focus on self-control, this trend makes us helpless and in need of others and may therefore hamper the development of pupils’ autonomy. It has even been argued that caring teachers are the main obstacles preventing pupils’ development into democratic citizens (Mc Cuaig, 2011).

Review of the Related Literature

The Inward Turn in Education and the Programme Invasion

At the beginning of 2000, Sweden witnessed an upsurge in different preventive health programmes in schools. This was mainly in response to a call for evidence-based methods and assumption that teachers lacked the relevant competencies to teach the life skills, values and other health-related issues required to meet schools’ caring and fostering responsibilities (Bartholdsson & Hultin, 2015; Irisdotter, Aldenmyr, & Olson, 2016). Social and emotional training (SET), referred to above, was for instance designed to prevent drug abuse and criminality and to develop pupils’ emotional intelligence (Kimber, 2007). Although the use of programmes such as SET has declined, variations of this programme and others like it remain in schools throughout Sweden (Bartholdsson & Hultin, 2015; Irisdotter, Aldenmyr, & Olson, 2016) and internationally (Wood, 2018), where they influence fostering practices. Some research has reported positive outcomes of the SET programme (Kimber, Skoog, & Sandell, 2013; see also, Durlak, Dymnicki, Weissberg, Taylor, & Schellinger, 2011). However, this so-called “inward turn in education” (Irisdotter, Aldenmyr, & Olson, 2016) has been criticised (Bartholdsson, Gustafsson-Lundberg, & Hultin 2014). Feelings, in these programmes, are often regarded as biological responses to stimuli. They do not account for other perspectives on feelings, i.e. that they are socially and culturally constructed and therefore can arise and be evaluated and interpreted according to different social contexts (Bartholdsson & Hultin, 2015). Focusing on the management of feelings and self-control also implies to a significant extent that the individual is responsible for failures in life. The source of the problems encountered in life (e.g. unemployment) is found in the individual’s emotional domain rather than in structural and political domains.

The Method of the Socio-Spatial Map for the Reconstruction of Transformative Educational Processes in Educational Contexts

Sabine Maschke, Verena Wellnitz

Abstract: This article is concerned with the method of the socio-spatial map. It is a method that combines visual (sketches/drawings) with verbal expressions (interviews) in a triangulating manner. This process is particularly suited to empirical questions and analyses of *educational contexts, processes* and *strategies* within the framework of extended education, as they are too complex to be captured solely by a single method. Rather, educational processes require a methodical-methodological design that enables as holistic a reconstruction as possible, within the mode of language and visualization, fundamental dispositions, experiences and forms of processing (cf. Maschke, 2019).

Keywords: triangulating methodology on space, educational research on space, arts-informed research, documentary method

The Socio-Spatial Map

Characteristics of the Socio-Spatial Map

On the basis of the narrative map, an instrument used in narrative and visual social research in ethnographic orientation (Behnken & Zinnecker, 2010), we made modifications aimed at creating a *common* methodological basis for analysis (cf. Bohnsack, Michel & Przyborski, 2015, p. 20). In order to do so, the triangulating components of the narrative map – the verbal and visual components – were linked by means of the documentary method (Maschke & Hentschke, 2017). To emphasize the extended expressive possibilities and the interactivity between both methods (interviews and sketches/drawings) and the socio-spatial aspect of the map, we no longer speak of a narrative map, but rather of a *socio-spatial map*. This method has, on the one hand, a certain similarity to arts-informed research (Guruge et al., 2015, p. 1); this is a data collection method that combines “drawing activity” with “focus group discussions”. On the other hand, it is similar to narrative mapping (Thomson, 2019, p. 132) as “a form of visual storytelling” or “mental sketch mapping” (Giesecking, 2013, p. 712).

The socio-spatial perspective focuses on the social creation and appropriation of space and habitus. The tenets are (1) that spaces are constructed interactively. They are constituted “in the interaction between action and structures” (Löw, 2017, p. 191). Actors create spaces,

and in turn, the space also has an effect on them (cf. Hummrich, 2011). In addition (2), the effect of different and also divergent experiential spaces for the creation of habitus is significant. Taken together (3), the interactively generated social (and at the same time, spatial) action practices (cf. Hummrich, 2011) can be taken into account on this basis. In this way, educational processes or (reflective) educational moments can be identified (cf. Maschke, 2013).

Implementing the Socio-Spatial Map

Like the narrative map, the socio-spatial map combines the graphical element of the drawing with the narrative (also guided) interview. Initially, an introduction impulse, adjusted to topic and age, is given, with which the respondents are invited to make a drawing/sketch of their personal space, e.g. of growing up during childhood or adolescence, or on specific transitions, with biographically relevant experiential spaces, stages, encounters, situations, events etc., and to talk (in parallel) about what seems significant to them. The entire process is recorded; any open questions are noted down for the subsequent interview phase. The first phase ends when the drawing is complete in the view of the respondent. This is followed by a follow-up question section and, if required, by a guided interview, which incorporates new content (cf. Behnken & Zinnecker, 2010). Individual parts/elements are then explained and/or evaluated by the respondents using standardized signs (e.g. plus or minus signs); for this, a transparent sheet can be laid on top of the sketch, or they can use a specially-colored pen to add something directly. The implementation of the socio-spatial map takes between approx. 30 minutes and one and a half hours.

Theoretical Background

Transformative Educational Processes

By connecting it to the concept of the subjective education space (in the tradition of socio-spatial analysis, *inter alia*, Kessler & Reutlinger, 2007; Deinet, 2009), the socio-spatial map can determine the habitual conditions of educational acquisition. Here, we refer back to the education-theoretical work on transformative educational processes (*inter alia*, Marotzki, 1990; Koller, 2010; Maschke, 2013; Nohl, Rosenberg & Thomsen, 2015). An international connection is produced via approaches of transformative learning (e.g. Kasworm & Bowles, 2012). In essence, these studies state that the transformation of the habitus arises from new *educational experiences*, which create a 'tension' in the current habitus (Maschke, 2013). The perception and release of this tension takes place within the self-reflective awareness or also the (self-)realization of biographical aspects – in our case with a view to the use and management of educational programs.

In both theoretical as well as methodological terms, the socio-spatial map draws triangulating research attention to cognitive-linguistic forms of expression in an interview as well as to a performative aspect, which finds its physical expression in the drawing/sketch (cf. Maschke, 2013). As such, the spectrum of possibilities of expression expands across a holistic approach, "room for the whole person-feelings as well as thoughts, body and soul, as well as mind" (Schapiro, Wasserman & Gallegos, 2012, p. 358-359) – which is particularly important for international comparative research. Though it hasn't been applied in in-